

Message Text

SECRET

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 SECTO 10019

NODIS

FOR EB/ENDERS AND S/P/LEWIS FROM LORD

E.O. 11652: GGS

TAGS: OVIP (KISSINGER, HENRY A.)

SUBJ: UNGA SPEECH INTRODUCTION

1. FOLLOWING, AS PROMISED, IS SLIGHTLY REVISED
INTRODUCTION TO UNGA SPEECH REFLECTING SECRETARY'S
COMMENTS HERE. SECRETARY SAYS HE IS RELATIVELY
SATISFIED WITH INTRODUCTION BUT WE NEVERTHELESS WOULD
WELCOME YOUR SUGGESTIONS, WHICH SHOULD BE INCORPORATED
IN COMPLETE REDRAFT WHICH YOU SEND US SATURDAY AFTER-
NOON. FOLLOWING TEXT SHOULD ALSO BE PASSED TO
MOYNIHAN FOR HIS INFORMATION.

2. BEGIN TEXT

1. MR. PRESIDENT, MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL
DISTINGUISHED COLLEAGUES, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

2. WE ASSEMBLE HERE THIS WEEK WITH AN OPPORTUNITY TO
IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

3. THIS VERY FACT REPRESENTS A REVOLUTION IN THE
HUMAN CONDITION. FOR THE FIRST TIME IN HISTORY, MAN
INDEED HAS THE TECHNICAL CAPACITY TO ABOLISH HUNGER, TO
CONQUER DISEASE, TO COMBAT ILLITERACY, AND TO EXPAND
AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND GROWTH IN EVERY SOCIETY.

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4. BUT MAN STANDS NOT SIMPLY AT A PLATEAU OF
TECHNICAL ABILITY; HE STANDS AT A POINT OF MORAL CHOICE.
FOR WHEN OUR DREAMS BECOME POSSIBILITIES, OUR MORAL
PRINCIPLES MAKE THEM ALSO DUTIES.

5. FOR DECADES, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WAS PERCEIVED
AS A TECHNICAL PROBLEM -- AS A QUESTION OF RESOURCES
AND MANAGEMENT. DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE -- WHICH MY
COUNTRY PIONEERED - WAS TREATED AS ASPECT OF BILATERAL
RELATIONS. TODAY THE CONVENING OF THIS SPECIAL SESSION
BEARS WITNESS THAT DEVELOPMENT HAS BECOME A CENTRAL CON-
CERN OF INTERNATIONAL POLITICS.

6. FOR WE HAVE EVOLVED NOT ONLY TECHNOLOGICALLY
BUT POLITICALLY. OUR GENERATION HAS SEEN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS BECOME FOR THE FIRST TIME, TRULY GLOBAL. MAN
IN HIS DRIVE FOR PROGRESS HAS EXPANDED THE NETWORK OF
COMMUNICATIONS, OPENED UP RESOURCES EVERYWHERE FOR
DEVEOPMENT, AND ESTENDED THE REACH OF COMMERCE. PARTI-
CIPATION IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM NOW EMBRACES NEARLY
THE TOTALITY OF MANKIND; MEN'S CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE
FATE OF THEIR BRETHREN IS NOW GLOBAL, AND ALMOST
INSTANTANEOUS.

7. THE COLONIAL ORDER THAT LASTED THROUGH CENTURIES
HAS LONG SINCE DISINTEGRATED; THE COLD WAR DIVISION OF
THE WORLD INTO TWO RIGID IDEOLOGICAL BLOCS HAS NOW ALSO
BROKEN DOWN. WE LIVE IN A WORLD OF SOME 150 INDEPENDENT
NATIONS -- A WORLD OF NEW IDEOLOGICAL DIVISIONS, CON-
TINUING POLITICAL TUMULT AND ECONOMIC RIVALRY. WILL THE
WORLD NOW FLOUNDER IN ANARCHY? OR CAN WE BUILD A NEW
WORLD ORDER, BY CONSCIOUS PRUPOSE, OUT OF THE EQUALITY
AND COOPERATION OF STATES? CAN WE TURN THE ENERGIES OF
NATIONS TO THE TASK OF HUMAN PROGRESS? THIS IS THE
CHALLENGE OF OUR TIME.

8. THE DEVEOPING NATIONS HAVE STATED THEIR CLAIM
FOR A GREATER ROLE IN DIPLOMACY, FOR GREATER CONTROL OVER
THEIR RESOURCES AND ECONOMIC DESTINY, AND FOR A JUST SHARE
IN GLOBAL PROSPERITY. THEY HAVE DECLARED THEIR NEED

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FOR BETTER ACCESS TO MARKETS AND TECHNOLOGY, FOR BETTER
ASSURANCE OF STABLE INCOME AND STABLE PURCHASING POWER,
FOR HELP IN INDUSTRIALIZATION AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.
THE DEVELOPED NATIONS HAVE IN TURN ASSERTED THEIR NEEDS:
THEY NEED RELIABLE SUPPLIES OF ENERGY AND RAW MATERIALS,
AND OTHER PRODUCTS, AT A FAIR PRICE. THEY WANT TO SEE
EXPANDING TRADE AND STABLE ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS. FOR
THESE ARE IMPORTANT TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN

SOCIETIES.

9. THESE ISSUES HAVE ALREADY BECOME THE SUBJECT OF MANY CONFRONTATIONS -- EMBARGOES, CARTELS, SEIZURES, COUNTERMEASURES, AND BITTER RHETORIC. OVER THE NEXT THIRTY YEARS, IF THIS TREND CONTINUES, THE DIVISION OF THE WORLD BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH, RICH AND POOR, COULD BECOME AS GRIM AND MENACING AS THE EAST-WEST CONFRONTATION IN THE DARKEST DAYS OF THE COLD WAR. THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES HAVE ORGANIZED THEMSELVES SUCCESSFULLY AND BEGUN TO COORDINATE THEIR ECONOMIC POLICIES IN MANY FIELDS. WE HAVE DONE SO NOT TO SEEK CONFRONTATION, BUT ON THE CONTRARY, TO RESIST CONFRONTATION AND TO OFFER A COMMON POLICY OF DIALOGUE WITH THE PRODUCER NATIONS. IT IS NOT WE -- THE STRONGEST -- WHO HAVE REASON TO FEAR CONTESTS OF ECONOMIC STRENGTH.

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FM USDEL SECRETARY IN JERUSALEM
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE

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FOR EB/ENDERS AND S/P/LEWIS FROM LORD

10. BUT WE BELIEVE THE WORLD COMMUNITY HAS A BETTER ALTERNATIVE. WE BELIEVE THAT THE ECONOMIC CHALLENGES OF OUR TIME SHOULD UNITE US, AND NOT DIVIDE US. IN MODERN CONDITIONS, ECONOMIC WARFARE SPELLS FUTILITY AND NEEDLESS HARDSHIP FOR ALL NATIONS. A CONSENSUS ON THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF MANKIND COULD SPELL COMMON PROGRESS.

11. FOR THE REALITY IS THAT THE WORLD ECONOMY IS A SINGLE GLOBAL SYSTEM OF TRADE AND MONETARY RELATIONS

THAT CANNOT BE UNDERMINED WITHOUT DAMAGE TO ALL OUR ECONOMIES. THE REALITY IS THAT ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WILL COME ONLY FROM A SUSTAINED PROCESS OF GROWTH, FUELED BY IMPROVING TRADE CONDITIONS, TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCE AND LARGE-SCALE INVESTMENT FROM MANY SOURCES.

THIS REQUIRES THE COOPERATION AND SUPPORT OF MANY NATIONS -- AND CANNOT BE EXTORTED FROM THEM AS RANSOM OR BLACKMAIL. THE REALITY IS THAT THE MEANS EXIST FOR COOPERATIVE EFFORTS ON THE BASIS OF SOVEREIGN EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT.

12. THEREFORE, THE NATIONS ASSEMBLED HERE HAVE A CHOICE: WE CAN OFFER OUR PEOPLE SLOGANS, OR WE CAN OFFER THEM SOLUTIONS. WE CAN DEAL IN RHETORIC, OR WE CAN DEAL IN REALITY. MY GOVERNMENT HAS MADE THE CHOICE. WE CHOOSE THE COOPERATIVE ROAD: WE SEEK A COMMON SECRET

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COMMITMENT.

13. THE UNITED STATES DOES NOT DO SO AS AN ACT OF CHARITY. WE DO SO BECAUSE THE SUCCESS OF THE WORLD COMMUNITY WILL DETERMINE THE KIND OF WORLD THAT WE, AND OUR CHILDREN, WILL INHABIT.

14. FOR DEVELOPMENT IS A DIMENSION OF PEACE. INTER-NATIONAL RELATIONS WILL FIND NO TRANQUILITY IF THE NATIONAL ASPIRATIONS OF SCORES OF COUNTRIES AND MILLIONS OF PEOPLE GO UNFULFILLED OR UNADDRESSED IN THE FORUMS OF DIPLOMACY. THERE IS NO GREATER MENACE TO PEACE THAN A SENSE OF INJUSTICE; THERE IS NO GREATER MENACE TO POLITICAL RELATIONS THAN THE RESORT TO ECONOMIC WARFARE. FOR ALL GOVERNMENTS ARE COMPELLED TO LOOK TO THE WELL-BEING OF THEIR OWN CITIZENS -- AND YET THERE IS NO SOLUTION FOR ANY NATION IN ISOLATION FROM OTHERS.

15. BUT WITH EQUAL CONVICTION WE MUST STATE THAT THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE AN INTEREST IN THE SUSTAINED GROWTH OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THIS GROWTH MEANS GROWING MARKETS FOR THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' EXPORTS OF RAW MATERIALS AND MANUFACTURES. THIS IS THE POOL OF RESOURCES -- WHICH ARE THE PREREQUISITE OF THE GROWTH OF THEIR PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. POLICIES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE WILL SURELY JEOPARDIZE THEIR FUTURE MOST OF ALL.

16. THEREFORE, THE QUESTIONS BEFORE THIS ASSEMBLY IS: WHAT PRACTICAL STEPS MUST WE TAKE NOW TOGETHER TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT?

17. WE MUST ALL FACE THE FACT THAT APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE THAT WERE BORN IN THE 1950'S AND 60'S ARE NO LONGER ADEQUATE. NOT ONLY DID TECHNICAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF MANY ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS FALL SHORT OF EXPECTATIONS. THEY ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE PEOPLES OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO AMOUNT TO AN ENDLESS AND ONE-SIDED FINANCIAL BURDEN. AND THEY ARE UNACCEPTABLE TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES BECAUSE THEY HAVE SEEMED TO CREATE A RELATIONSHIP OF

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CHARITY AND DEPENDENCY, INCONSISTENT WITH SELF-RESPECT AND JUSTICE

18. HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US A LEGACY OF DOCTRINES THAT ARE MADE OBSOLETE BY REALITY. IT HAS LEFT US THE DOCTRINE OF NATIONALISM--NATIONAL ADVANTAGE AS AN END IN ITSELF. BUT NATIONALISM IS DISCREDITED IN THIS CENTURY BY ITS BRUTAL EXCESSES A GENERATION AGO, AND BY ITS PATENT INADEQUACY FOR THE ECONOMIC NEEDS OF OUR TIME. THE ECONOMY IS GLOBAL. RECESSIONS, INFLATION, TRADE RELATIONS, THE STABILITY OF CURRENCIES, GLUTS AND SCARCITIES OF PRODUCTS AND MATERIALS, THE GROWTH OF TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES--THESE ARE INTERNATIONAL PHENOMENA. NO NATION IS IMMUNE TO EXTERNAL EVENTS, OR CAN CONTROL THE ENVIRONMENT WHICH IMPINGES UPON IT. NO GOVERNMENT CAN FULFILL THE NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE BY ITS OWN ACTION, WITHOUT COLLABORATION WITH OTHERS.

19. HISTORY HAS ALSO LEFT US DOCTRINES OF ECONOMIC DETERMINISM AND STRUGGLES, WHICH ARE ALSO OBSOLETE IN THIS ERA. IT IS IRONIC THAT AN IDEOLOGY BASED ON MATERIALISM, THAT PROMISED ECONOMIC JUSTICE HAS DONE SO POORLY IN RAISING THE PRODUCTION AND DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

20. THE REALITY IS THAT DEVELOPMENT IS NOT A STRUGGLE IN WHICH THE PROGRESS OF ONE NATION SPELLS THE DETRIMENT OF ANOTHER. ON THE CONTRARY. WE DO NOT EXPECT TO BE WORSE OFF IF OTHERS ARE BETTER OFF; WE EXPECT ALL TO BE BETTER OFF. THIS IS NOT THEORY TO US; THIS IS THE REALITY OF OUR EXPERIENCE.

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S E C R E T SECTION 3 OF 3 SECTO 10019

NODIS

FOR EB/ENDERS AND S/P/LEWIS FROM LORD

21. IT IS ALSO IRONIC THAT A PHILOSOPHY OF NONALIGNMENT, DESIGNED TO GIVE NEW NATIONS THE FREEDOM TO MAKE THEIR NATIONAL CHOICES FREE FROM THE PRESSURE OF COMPETING BLOCS, NOW HAS PRODUCED A BLOC OF ITS OWN. NATIONS WITH RADICALLY DIFFERENT ECONOMIC INTERESTS ARE LUMPED TOGETHER; NATIONS WITH ENTIRELY DIFFERENT POLITICAL CONCERNs ARE BRACED TOGETHER IN AN ARTIFICAL SOLIDARITY THAT OFTEN CLEARLY SACRIFICES PRACTICAL INTERESTS. IT IS AN IRONY THAT THE MOST DEVASTATING BLOW TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THIS GENERATION CAME NOT FROM "IMPERIALIST RAPACITY" BUT FROM THE MONOPOLISTIC PRICE INCREASE BY THE CARTEL OF OIL PRODUCERS.

22. AND CONTRARY TO THE IDEOLOGIES OF DESPAIR, MOST DEVELOPING COUNTRIES HAVE BEEN INCREASING THEIR PER CAPITA INCOMES AT FAR HIGHER RATES THAN THOSE WHICH OBTAINED HISTORICALLY IN EUROPE OR NORTH AMERICA DURING THE COMPARABLE STAGES OF THEIR GROWTH. THESE FACTS CONFIRM THAT THE MEANS NOW EXIST TO IMPROVE THE CONDITION OF MANKIND.

23. SO LET US GET DOWN TO BUSINESS. LET US PUT ASIDE THE STERILE DEBATE OVER WHETHER A NEW ECONOMIC ORDER IS REQUIRED OR WHETHER THE OLD ECONOMIC ORDER IS ADEQUATE. LET US LOOK FORWARD TO SHAPING THE WORLD OF THE FUTURE. THIS SPECIAL SESSION OF THE GENERAL

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ASSEMBLY HAS BROUGHT US TOGEHTER ON THE PREMISE THAT OUR COOPERATION NOW IS THE ONLY SOLUTION. LET US ADDRESS OUR PROBLEMS, NOT OUR PHILOSOPHIES. LET US

FULLY USE THE MEANS AT HAND. CHANGE IS INHERENT IN WHAT WE DO, AND WHAT WE SEEK. BUT ONE FACT DOES NOT CHANGE: THAT WITHOUT A CONSENSUS ON THE PRACTICAL REQUIREMENTS OF OUR INTERNATIONAL EFFORT, WE WILL ACHIEVE NOTHING.

(A) -- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS, FIRST, ON THE PRINCIPLE THAT OUR COMMON DEVELOPMENT GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY BY COOPERATION, NOT BY THE POLITICS OF CONFRONTATION.

(B) -- THERE MUST BE CONSENSUS THAT RECOGNIZES OUR RESPECTIVE CONCERNs AND OUR MUTUAL RESPONSIBILITIES. ALL OF US HAVE RIGHTS, AND ALL OF US HAVE DUTIES.

(C) -- THE CONSENSUS MUST EMBRACE THE BROADCAST POSSIBLE PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS. THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES MUST HAVE A ROLE AND VOICE IN THE INTERNATIONAL SYSTEM, ESPECIALLY IN DECISIONS THAT AFFECT THEM. BUT THOSE WHO ARE ASKED TO PROVIDE RESOURCES AND EFFORT, AND WHO MUST FOLLOW THROUGH ON DECISIONS MADE, MUST BE GRANTED A COMMENSURATE VOICE.

24. IT IS NOT THE ROLE OF THIS ORGANIZATION, OR ANY OTHER, TO IMPOSE PRESCRIPTIONS FOR NATIONAL CHOICES. WE MUST TOLERATE DIFFERENT PATHS, ORIGINATING IN HISTORY, CULTURE, AND PHILOSOPHY. BUT WE MUST REACH A CONSENSUS HERE TO ACT, AND TO ACT TOGETHER.

25. I OFFER TODAY CONCRETE STEPS FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. IF OTHERS DISAGREE, LET THEM PUT FORWARD THEIR ALTERNATIVES, AND WE WILL DISCUSS THEM IN A COOPERATIVE SPIRIT.

26. WE BELIEVE THAT AN EFFECTIVE DEVELOPMENT STRATEGY SHOULD CONCENTRATE ON FIVE FUNDAMENTAL AREAS:

(A) -- FIRST, THE PRECONDITION FOR GROWTH IS A MINIMUM SECRET

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OF ECONOMIC SECURITY AGAINST THE RAVAGES OF RECESSION AND INFLATION, THE FRUETIES OF DROUGHT AND FAMINE, AND RADICAL SWINGS IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' EXPORT EARNINGS. THEREFORE, LET US APPLY INTERNATIONAL COLLABORATION TO THESE BASIC FACTORS OF ECONOMIC INSTABILITY. THE UNITED STATES OFFERS FUNDAMENTAL NEW PROPOSALS.

(B) -- SECONDLY, THE PRECONDITION FOR ACCELERATED GROWTH IS THE INFUSION OF CAPITAL, NEW TECHNOLOGY, AND

MANAGEMENT SKILLS IN A DEVELOPING ECONOMY. THE UNITED STATES PROPOSES STEPS TO IMPROVE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' ACCESS TO CAPITAL MARKETS, TO FOCUS AND ADAPT NEW TECHNOLOGY TO SPECIFIC DEVELOPMENT NEEDS, AND TO CLARIFY ONCE AND FOR ALL THE CONDITIONS FOR FOREIGN INVESTMENT BY TRANSNATIONAL ENTERPRISES IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES.

(C) -- THIRD, WE MUST IMPROVE THE CONDITIONS OF TRADE IN KEY COMMODITIES AND MANUFACTURES FOR DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, AND THEIR BASIC CONDITIONS OF ACCESS TO MARKETS AND SUPPLIES GENERALLY, SO THAT THEY CAN EARN MORE INCOME THROUGH THEIR OWN EXPORTS.

(D) -- FOURTH, LET US ADDRESS THE NEEDS OF THE POOREST COUNTRIES, WHO ARE THE MOST DEVASTATED BY CURRENT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS, SHARING THE RESPONSIBILITY AMONG OLD AND NEWLY WEALTHY DONORS.

(E) -- FIFTH, WE MUST INVITE WIDER PARTICIPATION IN INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS AND INTERNATIONAL DECISIONS, IN THE NAME OF BOTH JUSTICE AND EFFECTIVENESS.

27. LET US PROCEED.

28. THE UNITED STATES HAS ITS OWN EXPERIENCE TO OFFER -- AND ITS CONFIDENCE IN THE POTENTIAL OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS TO MATCH IT.

29. THEIR DETERMINATION MOBILIZE THEIR OWN EFFORT IS CRUCIAL; WITHOUT IT NO OUTSIDE EFFORT WILL HAVE
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EFFECT. GOVERNMENT POLICIES TO CALL FORTH SAVINGS, TO INSTITUTE LAND REFORM, TO EXPLOIT INVESTMENT OPPORTUNITIES, TO USE EXTERNAL AID AND INVESTMENT PRODUCTIVELY, TO MANAGE AND ALLOCATE NATIONAL RESOURCES WISELY -- THESE ARE THE REAL KEYS. THEREFORE THERE MUST BE NATIONAL AS WELL AS INTERNATIONAL COMMITMENT.

30. IF OUR COOPERATION FAILS, WE ALL SUFFER. THE PRICE IS STARK; A WORLD OF DESPAIR, A CLIMATE OF RESTLESSNESS, AN INCREASING TEMPTATION TO TECHNIQUES OF ECONOMIC WARFARE, A HARDENING OF BLOCS, MOUNTING POLITICAL DIVISIONS, UNDERMINING OF COOPERATIVE RELATIONS, THE EROSION OF INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS -- AND THE UTTER FAILURE OF ALL EFFORTS FOR DEVELOPMENT.

31. MY COUNTRY IS COMMITTED TO DO ITS PART FOR THE SUCCESS OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION. THE LARGE

CONGRESSIONAL DELEVATION HAVE, AND THE SERIOUSNESS WITH
WHICH THEY HAVE WORKED IN COLLABORATION WITH THE
EXECUTIVE BRANCH IN THE PREPARATION OF THESE PROPOSALS,
ARE EVIDENCE OF MY COUNTRY'S COMMITMENT. WE ASK IN
RETURN A SERIOUS INTERNATIONAL DIALOGUE ON THE ISSUES
WHICH THE WORLD COMMUNITY FACES IN COMMON. END TEXT.
KISSINGER

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